3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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173 Prophets arose who foretold the coming of the Angoni and the Arabs to work havoc on land and people. Then from the lake would come the strange white man who would overcome Angoni and Arab, and give peace to the land. To this race the people were directed to submit themselves when they came. So deep and sure would the peace be, that men would go armed only with sticks, all need for spear and shield having passed away.

173 177 But the peace was still in the future. Arab and Angoni came and fulfilled their destiny. The Henga or Kamanga people, fleeing before the latter, were received by the Konde, and were at first friendly to their hosts, but later, when the Arabs arrived as traders and slavers, made an alliance with them against the harassed Konde. Into this confusion entered, very dramatically, the white man, of whose coming the natives give graphic accounts. The approach of the *Ilala*, the tiny steamer of the Livingstonia Mission, then operating from Cape Maclear, far to the south, struck the people with terror. "It is God," they said, "He walks on the water." As the little vessel drew near the land, the people fled into the bush. A white man landed. A few stronghearted natives ventured to approach, and saw his white skin. "It is surely God," they said, "He has come to us in the likeness of men." When he ate some bananas in their presence, they said, "No, not God, but a friend of His."

• 175 In 1887 the African Lakes Corporation of Glasgow

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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opened a trading store at Karonga, under Mr. Monteith Fotheringham, a man of great vigour and capacity. His presence aroused the hostility of the Arabs, who feared the loss of their slaving profits, and a period of fighting followed, in which the Konde took sides with the white man as their one hope. After a great encounter with their enemies, the defeated Konde took refuge in the Kambwe lagoon, the dry reeds on the margin of which were set on fire by the victors. The helpless natives leaped into the water, where many were drowned, and numbers were taken by the crocodiles which swarmed in the lagoon. In 1895 a small force was moved up by Sir Harry Johnston, High Commissioner for the newly formed British Protectorate, and the Arabs were defeated, and their leader, Mlozi, hanged the same day. From that time the Konde have progressed in peace under the influence of Government, Trade, and Missions.

One incident, very striking in itself, may be given as indicating the influence of Chungu. On one of her trips the *Domira*, the steamer of the African Lakes Corporation, went ashore on the sands near Karonga. Vigorous but unsuccessful efforts were made, with the help of great gangs of natives, to float her; and at length Chungu was asked to lend his powerful aid. This was Chungu Mwakasungula II. Taking with him a white cock, he went with his councillors to where the stranded steamer lay helpless on the sand. The following prayer, which he offered, was given to

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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175 782 643 me by the son of one of the councillors who stood near him :

"Art Thou angry with me, O God, who didst redeem me from slavery? The Angoni mocked me, the Arabs mocked me; then didst Thou cause me to see these mighty ones (the Europeans); and I said, 'Rejoice, for God has heard my prayers.' Who, then, of my ancestors is angry? Against whom have I sinned? For it is they who are my helpers in speaking to Thee. Many of them died by the spear; they saw their families destroyed; they suffered hunger again and again, before the mighty ones came. Now, O God, be merciful, and let the feet of these men come up out of the water."

Then taking water in his mouth he squirted it north and south saying, "I am lord of that country, I Magemo: I am lord of that country, I Kyabara," to which the assembled councillors responded, "E! Magemo; E! Kyabara." Then whirling the cock over his head and dipping it in the water, he gave the signal to the men hanging on the ropes to pull. And the steamer floated off into the water!

175 177 [797] Meantime in the north internal warfare went on intermittently, but no man of outstanding capacity arose to give cohesion to the various families of the Nyakyusa. Before the arrival of the Moravian missionaries in the area in 1891, various Europeans visited the district. Hunters came and went, and for a brief space there was a station of the Livingstonia Mission not far from Tukuyu. In 1893 the German

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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Government established a station at Lumbira on the lake shore, but removed later to Tukuyu. On the whole the new Government was well received. A rising in 1897 was so mercilessly dealt with that any discontent which might be felt was suppressed by the fear of the German machine-guns. Very slowly the district is being merged in the general progress arising out of European domination.

Around the lake shore cotton is being successfully cultivated by natives and Europeans. On the uplands near Tukuyu there are some coffee plantations, and the suitability of the soil for the cultivation of flax is being tested. Coal has been found in the hills to the west, but its commercial value has still to be proved; and a small quantity of mica is also being digged. Up in the north, on the Lupa River, but outside the Konde region, gold has been discovered, but apparently only in modest quantities. There are at present about three score of miners at work there.

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17

Sukwa, *Wenya*, *Lambya*, are politically subordinate, but culturally distinct.[1] They are probably remnants of the original inhabitants of the country. But Wilson also mentions elsewhere that the *Ndali* and *Lambya* of the upper Songwe river are two cultural groups closely related to the Nyakyusa.[2] We know that many of the small independent neighbours of the Ngonde are related to each other (*Tambo*, *Wandya*, and *Fungwe*),[3] their political independence being mainly due to the mountainous nature of their country.[4] Many of their names, which we take to represent distinct tribes, are merely locality names,[5] and some of the names which appear on the Tribal Map of East Africa represent only very small groups of people: for example, the *Tambo*, between the Iwa and the Luangwa river, were estimated in 1911 to be only 500 altogether.[6] These peoples are most probably remnants of the original Tumbuka[7] cluster, and through them belong to the Nyanja–Cewa group; some of them may possibly have been forerunners of the *Bisa–Senga* immigration from the Congo, or they may have affiliations with the tribes of Tanganyika, *Fipa* or *Safwa*. It is unprofitable, on the existing information, to speculate on their original ethnic grouping, and impossible, without a survey in the country itself, to discover their present cultural affinities. At present their geographical position is the only reason for grouping them together in the Ngonde cluster. The *Henga* to the south of the Ngonde are an exception. Their arrival in the country is a matter of historical knowledge,[8] and they certainly belong, not to the Ngonde, but to the Tumbuka cluster.

Similar difficulties are found on the east side of Lake Nyasa. The *Wanji* and *Poroto* north of the Kinga, the *Pangwa* and *Matengo* on the south, and small tribes on the lake coast, the *Kisi*, *Sandia*, *Mpoto*, &c., appear as names on the maps, but little else is known of them.

Dr. Meinhard considers that the Nyamwanga and Iwa on the west, and the Kinga and Pangwa on the east, are culturally too dissimilar to be counted in the same group with the Ngonde and Nyakyusa.[9] However, information about these peoples is so scanty that it has been necessary in any case to base this report on the Ngonde and Nyakyusa, which have been studied by Godfrey Wilson.

History

As far as available information is concerned, only the history of the Ngonde has been recorded, and it would also seem as if this is the only one of the related groups which has developed a centralized political system, except the Nyamwanga and Iwa. The Nyakyusa, as they spread westwards, were ruled by a number of petty chiefs, each of whom was succeeded by two or more sons, who carved out separate chiefdoms in the area into which they were expanding. There was no paramount political authority, but a number of tiny chiefdoms, none of which to-day exceeds 3,000 adult males, and most of which are far smaller than that. To-day about 100 traditionally

[1] Wilson, 5, 1939, p. 7.

[2] On the other hand, the *Mbeya District Notebook* records that the Lambya are related to the Nyakyusa, and the Nyika have affinities with the Lambya, but the Ndali are of a different origin.

[3] Cowhead, 1914, pp. 3 and 58.

[4] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.

[5] Nyirende, 1931 (footnote by Young, T. C.).

[6] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.

[7] See Young, T. C., 1, 1932, p. 60: 'Far back in the hills . . . there exists still a Nyika people whose speech has been much less interfered with by the incomers, and which apart from dissimilarity in tone and accent, is not far removed from Tumbuka-Kamanga speech.'

[8] Lugard, 1893, vol. i, p. 51.

[9] Professor M. Wilson corroborates this.

4: Tew E4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17

975 631 independent chiefs have been grouped into eleven court districts, with one chief as President of the Native Court in each. These chiefs, with two presidents of the Ndali and Lambya courts, are federated, and possess one Appeal Court and joint Native Treasury between them.[1]

The following is a summary of the history of the Ngonde, south of the Songwe river:

173 Ngonde tradition records that about 200 years ago a chief of the Kinga, Nguluwe, had two grandsons, Lwembe (from whom descended the Nyakyusa) and Chawara (from whom came the Ngonde, the Iwa, and the Nyamwanga).[2] Chawara left Ukinga and wandered west and south as far as Nkamanga, the capital of the Tumbuka country, returning thence to capture Mbande from Simbowe, the indigenous chief.[3] After this the local chiefs accepted him as their overlord, and he confirmed their status with public gifts of cloth, much as Mlowoka had done with the Tumbuka. There is little information about these earlier inhabitants, but it seems likely that they were similar to the Tumbuka, before the latter were conquered by Mlowoka.[4] There is an old tradition that Mlowoka and Chawara knew each other in their former home, and that their meeting at Nkamanga was as one between equals, at which the boundaries between their territories were formally arranged. According to Tonga tradition certain details of the accompanying ritual and the fact of his prior arrival show Mlowoka to have been recognized by Chawara as a higher authority, but this interpretation together with the circumstantial evidence are repudiated by the Ngonde tradition.[5]

175 Opinions differ as to the actual date of the arrival of the first Ngonde ruler, Kyungu. He came accompanied by five leading men, and was accepted as overlord by the local chiefs. The latter, with the immigrants, formed a class of hereditary nobles, *amakambala*, who divided into two groups according to whether they lived at Mbande (the nobles of Ngonde)[6] or whether they lived at a distance (territorial nobles);[6] later immigrants joined one or the other group. These nobles ruled the country. The Kyungus, enriched by the ivory trade, were credited with divine powers, and lived in strict religious seclusion. Most of their male children were killed at birth by the nobles of Ngonde, and if they themselves fell sick they were killed. A constitutional change took place after the accession of the tenth Kyungu, Mwangonde: the killing of the sons of the Kyungu was stopped, and such was the prestige of the royal blood that they began to displace the territorial nobles as rulers. The sons of the Kyungu became hereditary chiefs, *avanyfyale*, each of whom was succeeded by two or more sons, who divided the territory between them as the Nyakyusa do. Each territorial noble was succeeded by only one heir. The effect of this branching of new chiefdoms was to create a number of hierarchies of small chiefdoms under one head, the great chief.[7] The relation of these political units to each other, and to the central authority at Mbande, will be considered in the section on Social Organization.

When the Ngoni first attacked the Ngonde, Mwakasungulu was the first Kyungu

[1] Wilson, 3, 1938, pp. 12–13, gives seven districts, but the number has been increased.
[2] Ibid., 5, 1939, p. 9; Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 20–3; Young, T. C., 4, 1932, p. 56.
[3] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 305–6.
[4] Young, T. C., 4, 1932, pp. 60–1.
[5] Ibid., pp. 57–60: Young also believes that they originally came from the River Chari, near Lake Chad (1933, p. 7).
[6] Wilson's terminology.
[7] Wilson, 5, 1939, p. 9; Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 68–71.

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to take up arms and lead the people to fight. The Ngoni were temporarily beaten off, but at a later attack the Ngonde, under Gwa Sapasi, submitted. By 1875 he had been succeeded by Mwafongo, who was Kyungu at the time of the first visit of the Europeans. By that time, Arab slave- and ivory-traders had established themselves in Ngonde, and for the next twenty years they disputed the territory with the Europeans. After Dr. Law's voyage to Ngonde in 1875 a Free Church of Scotland Mission station and a post of the African Lakes Corporation were set up at Karonga. The Arabs sometimes traded with the Ngonde and sometimes fought them. In one fight the Kyungu Mwafongo was killed and Mwabulambo was elected in his place. The agent of the African Lakes Corporation tried to protect the people against the Arabs, and barely succeeded in maintaining his own position, until in 1889 H. H. Johnston made treaties with the chiefs and Arabs in Ngonde, and the country came into the sphere of influence of the British South Africa Company. In 1895 Mlozi, the leading Arab, who had not accepted British rule, was caught and hanged, and Ngonde was incorporated in the British Protectorate of Central Africa.

The inter-territorial boundary between Nyasaland and German East Africa (now Tanganyika Territory) cut across the area of the Kyungu's influence, which used to extend some fifteen miles north of the Songwe river, and some of the western territories were included in Northern Rhodesia.

The new government forbade elephant hunting without licence, and so killed the ivory trade, a main source of revenue; taxes were collected, and small subsidies paid out of them to selected chiefs and nobles. Mwakabaga, who became Kyungu in 1904, was the first Kyungu to sit with his people judging their cases. After his death the nobles chose Mwangalaba to succeed him, and in his reign the custom of hoeing (*milasa*) for the Kyungu lapsed till 1927, when it was revived in a modified form by the next Kyungu, Peter. The latter was the younger brother of Mwangalaba, and acted as his assistant in 1912 and as regent in 1927, succeeding to the full position of Kyungu in 1932. He had made a private fortune in industry and used it consistently to maintain his public position. He left Mbande, the traditional capital which had been dominated by the nobles of Ngonde, and built a new one at Bwiba, half-way between Mbande and the government Boma at Karonga.[1]

Demography

Ngonde. In 1931 the Ngonde population had increased from 18,852 in 1921 to 30,731, or by 63 per cent. In 1945 it again doubled itself, reaching the figure of 62,136. The average density in the district is under fifteen per square mile.[2]

Nyakyusa country is thickly populated in the south around the lake-shore plain. Its density is about six times as great as that of Ngonde country.[3]

In recent years there has been a large movement of Nyakyusa from Rungwe district into Mbeya district, into the areas east and west of Mbeya, where the average density is over 100 persons to the square mile, with a maximum of over 400 to the square mile in one village near Mbeya.[4]

[1] Wilson, s. 1939, pp. 67–9; Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 23–4; Maughan, 2, 1929, pp. 7 and 134–41; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 237 sq.; Laws, 1934, pp. 100 sq.; Du Plessis, 1929, pp. 296–322; Johnston, 1897 pp. 72–6; Lugard, 1893, vol. i, pp. 42 sq., and 231–2; Duff, 1903, p. 10.

[2] *1931* and *1945 Census*, p. 15.

[3] *Handbook of German East Africa*, p. 68; Wilson, s. 1939, p. 7.

[4] Hall, 1945.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17.

Mwambelo, younger brother of Mwakasungula, succeeded and abandoning the enclosure at Mbande, went to live by the lake shore.[1] And so yet another step was taken from the traditional religious seclusion. His successors returned to Mbande; but the custom of building an enclosure round the houses of the Kyungu was not resumed. 173

In his reign Mwafulilwa, chief of the next tribe to the south of Ngonde, sought aid against the Ngoni and the men of Ngonde responded and won a battle. But the Ngoni then replied with another night raid in which they found Mwambelo alone in his house and killed him and returned home. Another attack followed before a new Kyungu had been installed, but it was repulsed, "for this time they had come by day!"

"And then the nobles of Ngonde made Gwa Sapasi Kyungu; he was a son of Kalambo, a chief of Ngana; for they said that, as so many of the chiefs of Ngelenge had been killed by the Ngoni, they would now take one of their cousins again as the Kyungu." And now at last Ngonde submitted to the Ngoni. Gwa Sapasi, with the concurrence of all the chiefs and all the nobles save one[2] sent a tusk of ivory to the Ngoni chief Mtwalo. "And from that time forwards the Ngoni never fought with us again."

A few years later, in 1875, after Gwa Sapasi had died and been succeeded by Mwafongo, the Europeans first visited Ngonde. Arab slaves traders established themselves there about the same time, and with the struggle between the two races for the possession of Ngonde the modern period begins. 175

3. *RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS (MIDDLE PERIOD).*

The traditional status of the Kyungus had in part a religious basis.[3] The ruling Kyungu and the spirits of his dead predecessors were believed to form one divine company, the anger of any one of whom had terrible effects: while in his own flesh and in some of his possessions magical power was believed to reside. But the Kyungu was not alone in his religious potency, he was but the greatest of many. The nobles of Ngonde and the territorial nobles, the chiefs both great and small, professional rainmakers and doctors, the great-commoners of the villages, heads of families and even ordinary men and women—all alike were believed to have some access to, some dealings with divine or 643 769 789

[1] Three nobles of Ngonde, in recounting this story, maintained that Mwambelo was mad.

[2] He was Mwenisungo, whose story is omitted here for lack of space.

[3] As this paper is concerned only with political institutions no full analysis of the tribal religion of Ngonde is here attempted, only those aspects of it are dealt with which have political significance.

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enables us to accept it as broadly accurate. But from 1875 onwards written records[1] begin to supplement the oral tradition.

A little before 1875 Mwafongo, another chief of Ngana, had succeeded Gwa Sapasi as the Kyungu; and in that year the Europeans first reached Ngonde. But about the same time Arab slave and ivory traders established themselves there also and for the next twenty years disputed its possession with the Europeans.

In 1875 Dr. Laws and his party made a voyage of exploration in the "Ilala" round the lake and visited Ngonde; and within the next six years both a Free Church of Scotland mission station and a post of the African Lakes Corporation were set up there. The site they selected was on the lake shore in Kalonga's district and so became known by his name.[2] But the Arab traders were in Ngonde too. The Arabs sometimes traded with the people of Ngonde, sometimes fought them, while the African Lakes Corporation Agent tried to combine a lucrative trade with the Arabs and the protection of the people against them.

During the course of a fight with the Arabs Kyungu Mwafongo was killed and Mwabulambo, yet another chief of Ngana, was taken in his place. The nobles of Ngonde at first wanted to take Malema, a chief of Ngelenge, but he fled from them; "they asked the Arab Mlozi to lend them men to look for him, but he hid in a tree and escaped them. So they took Mwabulambo."

It was fourteen years after the arrival of Dr. Laws before the British made any move to take over Ngonde; and in the interval Monteith Fotheringham, the African Lakes Agent, only just succeeded in maintaining himself against the Arabs, owing to the help of Captain F. D. (now Lord) Lugard. But in 1889 H. H. (afterwards Sir Harry) Johnston arrived and made treaties both with the chiefs and the Arabs in Ngonde, and from then until 1896 the country formed part of the "sphere of influence" of the British South Africa Company. In 1895 Mlozi, the leading Arab, openly refused to accept the new state of affairs and was hanged. And in the next year Ngonde was incorporated in the British Protectorate of Central Africa (afterwards renamed Nyasaland).

About this time—the present Kyungu says it was in 1894—the nobles of Ngonde deposed Kyungu Mwabulambo and made Mwakaba-

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[1] *Lakes and Mountains of Africa.* Elton. *1879.*
Adventures in Nyasaland. L. M. Fotheringham. *1891.*
The Rise of our East African Empire. F. D. Lugard. *1893.*
British Central Africa. H. H. Johnston. *1897.*
Fighting the Slave Hunters in Central Africa. A. J. Swann. *1910.*
Last of Livingstonia. W. P. Livingstone. *1921.*
After Livingstone. F. L. M. Moir. *1923.* Etc.

[2] Spelt "Karonga," the KyaNgonde "1" being retroflex.

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175 nga, one of the chiefs of Ngelenge, Kyungu in his stead. "They deposed Mwabulambo because, as they said, the country was once more at peace and so they should take a son of Mwakasungula again as the Kyungu." Mwakabanga was at first installed on the lake shore, but after the death of Mlozi he moved to the traditional capital at the foot of Mbande.

175 177 The demarcation of the interterritorial boundary between Nyasaland and German East Africa (afterwards Tanganyika) cut across the area of Mbande's influence. The majority of the Lambya were separated by the boundary from their chiefs Nyondo and Kameme, while the Ndali who had, so it is said, previously sent regular tribute of ivory to Mbande, now became quite independent. And some of the more remote territorial nobles to the west were included in Northern Rhodesia.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to forbid the hunting of elephants without a license and thus at a blow the main traditional source of the Kyungu's revenue came to an end. Since then the numbers of elephants have been greatly reduced by European hunters, and only a few are left in the Ngonde of to-day. Taxes soon began to be collected, however, and small subsidies to be paid from them to selected chiefs and nobles.

175 178 Now Kyungu Mwakabanga, who died in 1904, after a reign of ten years, "was the first Kyungu to sit with his people judging their cases; he appeared before them at his own homestead. None of his predecessors had done so, only the nobles of Ngonde had seen them." During his reign the Government suppressed the *valukuta*, on the ground that their methods were too rough, and gave him government-paid messengers instead. And it also forbade the poison-ordeal. [202]

After Mwakabanga's death the nobles of Ngonde chose Mwangalaba, a son of Malema, to succeed; and early in his reign there were other significant changes of custom. From his predecessors, as we have seen, when they journeyed through their country, all commoners save the very old had fled. The Kyungu was too terrible for ordinary men to look upon. "Not till the succession of Mwangalaba was this custom abandoned." And in the third year of his reign the custom of hoeing *milasa* lapsed, not to be revived till 1927.

Now, as it happened, Mwangalaba had a younger brother, Peter, who was a man of exceptional talents. Starting as a Christian teacher he then became a store capitao of the African Lakes Corporation and of various other firms, and later set up in business for himself with a chain of shops and made a fortune. And when Mwangalaba began to fail in 1912 Peter became his assistant and proved himself to have legal and administrative ability also. A failing Kyungu could not, as in former times, be killed and Mwangalaba lingered on until 1932. In 1927 it became necessary

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to appoint a regent and, with the consent of the nobles of Ngonde and of Mwangalaba himself, Peter was appointed ; and in 1932 he succeeded his brother as the Kyungu. He is still the Kyungu to-day. Both before and after his succession he has used his private fortune without stint to maintain his public position ; and the historical accident of his personal ability and wealth has played a very large part in shaping the course of the political and social revolution though which Ngonde is passing.

It is Peter who has completed the emergence of the Kyungus from their religious seclusion at Mbande. He has, in the first place, abandoned all claims to divinity and, with them, all interest in the traditional prayers and sacrifices to his ancestors which the nobles of Ngonde still occasionally undertake. And in the second place, he has built his capital, not at Mbande with the nobles of Ngonde, but at Bwiba, half way between Mbande and the Government Boma at Karonga—a position symbolic of the new age.

The Government of the Protectorate at first applied a system of direct rule. In Ngonde most of the chiefs and ruling nobles were designated either as " Village " or as " Principal Headmen " and officially allowed to exercise executive duties. It appears that traditional rulers only were selected, though, theoretically, anyone at all might have been. The " Principal Headmen " included the Kyungu but he was not recognized as paramount over the others. " In 1924 certain modifications were made in their position, but it was officially stated ' that the new system is no way intended to revivify or perpetuate governance by Native chiefs.' Under the 1924 system ' Village ' and ' Principal Headmen ' still had executive duties on behalf of Government, but no authority to administer their people in their own right."[1] With the appointed headmen councils were associated consisting of " members nominated and removeable by the Government," and a similar district council was set up " to advise the District Resident in such matters as may come before him."

But in 1933 the system was changed to one of " Indirect Rule " or " Local Self-Government," by which the traditional political institutions of Ngonde were taken as the basis of administration. The Kyungu was now recognized as " Paramount Chief,"[2] with an appeal court and with five " Sub-chiefs "[3] under him. Of these five Kilupula was one of the

[1] The quotations in this paragraph are taken from L. P. Mair's *Native Policies in Africa* pages 114-116.

[2] In order to avoid confusion between traditional and modern titles I shall, from now on, use the former without quotation marks, the latter with them.

[3] These five had all been " Principal Headmen " under the previous ordinance. Since our visit Kalonga, the senior great chief of Ngelenge, has also been made a " Sub-chief."

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175 178 642 great chiefs of Ngana, three others (Mwenemisuku, Mwenewenya, and Nthalile) were distant territorial nobles who ruled groups of alien stock in the hills, while the last, Nyondo, who was, we remember, traditionally related to the Kyungu, ruled the Lambya group in the extreme north west. The nobles of Ngonde, together with twelve prominent territorial nobles and six other assessors, were recognized as members of the Kyungu's court and given nominal salaries. Those of the great chiefs of Ngonde who were not made "Sub-chiefs" in the new regime were now officially termed "Important Headmen," and given nominal salaries also. The other chiefs and those territorial nobles who had men of their own under them were still termed "Village Headmen" as they were before 1933.

The Kyungu and the five "Sub-chiefs" each had an area allotted to him, and each was given a court for his area. "Village" and "Important Headmen" might arbitrate in small cases, but had no power to execute judgments; that power belonged to the courts alone. Thus the Ngonde plain was split up into the two areas of the Kyungu (in the south) and of Kilupula (in the north). The Kyungu's court was both a court of first instance for his own area and also a court of appeal for the whole of Ngonde.

The modern title "Village Headman," seems at first to be a particularly confusing one since its bearer rules, not a village, but either a chiefdom or a fief which is itself sub-divided into age-villages. Further in the case of chiefdoms, unless they are very small, each age-village has its own great-commoner; and it is he who is the traditional village headman. But the confusion seems more natural when we realize the number of very small chiefdoms and fiefs which have now come into being by the continual sub-division of the former and the gradual shrinkage of the latter. There are some ruling chiefs and nobles to-day, still recognized as such, who have only half-a-dozen adult male tax payers under them. And it takes a pedantic anthropologist to see in such a group *two* age-villages! It is true that one does find the two or three old men in it still building a little apart from the three or four young ones, but most likely they are now all Christians and no longer observe the father-daughter-in-law taboos; for all practical purposes they constitute but one village-group. In the larger chiefdoms, however, the traditional articulation into age-villages each under its own great-commoner, still survives as a living fact.

175 178 Like the Nyakyusa, but unlike many other Central African peoples, the people of Ngonde have a fairly easy adjustment to make to modern economic conditions. It is true that a large proportion of the able-bodied men, estimated by the District Commissioner in 1937 to be 25%, are now

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always away, but the great majority of these go to the nearby Lupa Gold Fields in Tanganyika and return home regularly after short periods of three or four months at work there. Nor are they by any means solely dependent upon the sale of their labour for the money which is now necessary to them. Cotton and a certain amount of coffee, rice, beans, maize and beeswax are now being produced in Ngonde for sale to the outside world. Of cotton, the most important economic crop of this district, ninety tons were exported in 1936 and brought in, for distribution among the thousand men who had planted it, about a thousand pounds.

The question of the ultimate title to the land of Ngonde at various times since the coming of the Europeans has been the subject of dispute; but in actual fact only a little was ever alienated to European firms or individuals. These alienations were followed, in some cases, by a shifting of the African population off the land taken up, but not on any large scale. And since 1933 Native rights have been secured by law. There are now only three or four small estates occupied by Europeans in Ngonde.

In the constitutional sphere, again, a Native treasury has been set up into which one twelfth of the tax money is paid; but as this money is almost entirely used up in personal emoluments, the new treasury has so far little significance.

The whole scale and perspective of life is now changed. Ngonde is no longer a world in itself but a tiny province in a great empire. The Kyungu is no longer either a god or a sovereign, but a little secular chief visibly supported and controlled by the Nyasaland Government. Nearly half his people profess Christianity. A quarter of his young men are always outside Ngonde working for wages. Mission education in local schools and at the neighbouring central station of Livingstonia, opens to increasing numbers each year the knowledge of a vast new world. The primitive Ngonde was a world of personal relationships; only rarely were people much affected by the behaviour of any save their personal acquaintances. But to-day impersonal relationships are all-important in Ngonde; world markets, imperial policies and world history in general largely determine the behaviour of its people.

9. *THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF NGONDE.*

(a) *CHANGE AND CONTINUITY.*

The constitution of Ngonde in the middle period of its history consisted of a mercantile divinity superimposed on a number of relatively autonomous local groups. The central power was mainly determined by the two factors of divine kingship and the ivory trade: the local autonomy was mainly determined by the absence of any large number of

241 Other foodstuffs grown are coca-yams, cow peas, pigeon peas, Bambarra groundnuts, ginger, cardamon, groundnuts, wheat, pumpkins, peppers, citrus, sugar cane and European [177] vegetables, including a quantity of European potatoes.

Economic Crops

245 One of the main cash crops is coffee, which was introduced about 1900 by the Berlin 177 Lutheran Mission, but it was not grown by natives until 1930 when an attempt was made to organize an industry. It had already been tried from 1924 onwards by Europeans but had gradually died out, giving place to tea.

245 Native coffee has not been truly successful and many reasons are suspected for this. In effect, the coffee suffers from many pests and diseases and yields are so low as to be almost uneconomical even to a tribe of very low individual annual income. It has become obvious that coffee can only be grown by natives if shaded by bananas and mulched heavily with banana trash. Multiple-stem pruning is gaining favour.

Seedlings are planted out in December and the first crop is obtained four years after. The area planted rose in 1939 to 5,864 acres and the number of native planters to 7,966. Yields, however, are low, varying from 131.4 kg. to 20.4 kg. parchment to the acre. Hemeleia [136] leaf disease and yellow and white borer are prevalent all over the coffee-growing area. Over the period since 1932 the price paid to natives has averaged 44 cents a kg. for parchment.

[438] All coffee is collected and sold by Native Authority after rough grading and, in order to [432] encourage better preparation, much lower payments are made for the inferior grades. A native staff is employed to visit coffee plots and to give instructions, and it is noticeable that the quality of preparation varies with the price.

●175 The cultivation of rice on the lake shore was started by Chief Koroso in 1896 with seed 243 obtained from Arab traders in Nyasaland and the Moravian Mission issued further seed in 1898. Being an innovation, rice was not popular and little was grown except for small [651] local sales. In 1917 the Government issued seed and tax was paid in rice instead of money. Interest was hereby aroused and the cultivation of rice was started. In 1932 several other kinds of seed were issued and now sixteen varieties 243 are found. "Faya", which was issued in 1929, gives the best yields and is the variety chiefly grown, other varieties being Bungala, Marula